

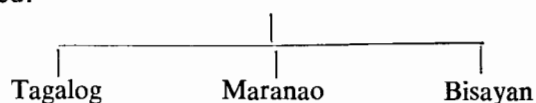
# MARANAO AND TAGALIC: QUALITATIVE CONFIRMATION OF A SUBGROUPING HYPOTHESIS

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(Received March 5, 1970)

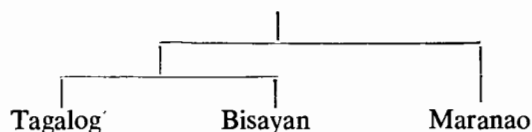
In an article in *Language* (1962:47), the following statement appears: 'Maranao is a member of the Tagalog family of Philippine languages; these together with the Visayan languages are members in turn of the Malayopolynesian . . .'. This sentence lends itself most easily to an interpretation in the following tree for Tagalog, Maranao and Bisayan (=Visayan):



Here a closer relationship between Tagalog and Maranao as against Bisayan is made express. It seems to me not unreasonable that the following tree might have been intended:



Here a coordinate relation between the three languages is made express. The least likely interpretation of the statement is that it should be understood to mean the following:

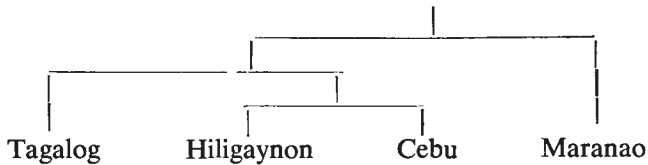


Now in classifying the Malayopolynesian languages lexicostatistically I had obtained percentages for Maranao, Tagalog, Cebu-Bisayan and Hiligaynon-Bisayan.<sup>1</sup> The results appear as follows:

	<i>Maranao</i>	<i>Tagalog</i>	<i>Hiligaynon</i>
Tagalog	35.1		
Hiligaynon	31.5	50.8	
Cebu	31.1	45.1	65.2

<sup>1</sup> The percentages are selected from those forming the basis of I. Dyen. A lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages. *IJAL* Memoir 19 (1965).

The highest score of Maranao (35.1%) is with Tagalog. This is significantly different<sup>2</sup> from the highest score of Tagalog (50.8%) which is with Hiligaynon. The latter is not significantly different from Tagalog's percentage with Cebu, 45.1%. Both of Tagalog's percentages with Bisayan are significantly lower than Hiligaynon's percentage with Cebu (65.2%). Since they have their highest percentage with each other, we infer that Hiligaynon and Cebu are most closely related with each other and constitute a group. A second inference is that the Bisayan dialects (or languages) as a group and Tagalog are more closely related to each other than either is to Maranao. This implies a family tree essentially like the one above judged least likely to be the representation of the statement quoted above:



It would be interesting to test these different family trees. An obvious test is to see whether cognate morphological and syntactic features seem to accumulate in favor of a closer Tagalog-Maranao connection or a closer Tagalog-Bisayan connection. Our interest is not so much in disproving a statement, which, after all, could have been fashioned inattentively, but rather in exemplifying how one might proceed to test a subgrouping hypothesis based on lexicostatistical grounds by examining the languages concerned for agreements and disagreements in their morphological and syntactic features.

#### 1.0 FOUR CONSTITUENT-CLASSES

In all of the languages particles play an important part in the syntax. They are involved in the construction of certain sequences which are themselves constituents in certain constructions. In the comparison of the particles we are interested in seeing how frequently etymologically related particles appear in essentially the same function. The comparison offers difficulties because of the limited amount of information available on Maranao. Nevertheless it is possible that enough instances will appear to suggest a trend.

There are four constituent-classes with which we shall be concerned. They are called here (1) conjunctive construction, (2) nominative constituent, (3) genitive constituent, (4) locative constituent. There is in addition (5) a set of pronominal forms with varied functions (probably best regarded as homonymous) which I call oblique pronouns. Our interest is in the appearance of cognate elements in similar constructions which depend on the cognate elements.

In some instances a language shows at least one morph in a member of its phrase-class which is peculiar to the constituent-class of the phrase. Such a morph is said to *mark the relation* of the phrase-class, and to belong to a *rela-*

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of 'significantly different', see I. Dyen, *The Lexicostatistical classification of the Malayo-polynesian languages*. *Language* 38.41 (1962).

*tional morpheme* or *marker*. In the absence of such a morph, the relation of the constituent-class is said to be *unmarked*. The relation then has the morph zero if the phrase also has a different function; otherwise the relation is said to coincide with the marker of the constituent.

Except for the conjunctive construction we are concerned with three types of constituents with a full word as an immediate member; they are (a) the non-personal, (b) the personal, and (c) the pronominal.

## 2.0 THE CONJUNCTIVE CONSTRUCTION

All of the languages have a conjunctive construction in which the conjunctive relation is marked. In Tagalog the marker is  $na^{\infty}\eta$ ; in Hiligaynon and Cebu it is  $\eta a^{\infty}\eta^{\infty}ka$ ; and in Maranao it is  $a^{\infty}ka$ . Where *ka* is an alternant (as in Bisayan and Maranao), it appears in construction with numerals. Otherwise, where there is a choice between a syllabic (*na*,  $\eta a$ ) and a non-syllabic ( $\eta$ ) alternant, the choice depends on the final of the preceding word as that word appears before pause. The non-syllabic alternant follows only alternants ending in a vowel of words which before pause end in a vowel, *q*, or *n*:

Tag. *malaki*  $\eta$  *ba.hay*; *ba.hay na malaki* 'big house', *qisa*  $\eta$  *ba.hay* 'one house'.

Hil., Cebu *daku*  $\eta$  *balay*; *balay*  $\eta a$  *dakuq* 'big house', *qusa ka balay* 'one house'.

Mar. *mata'id a mama* 'handsome man', *lima ka sako* 'five sacks'

As the examples show, in certain types of conjunctive construction the order of the fullwords is free in Tagalog and Bisayan. It is not known whether such freedom obtains in Maranao.

The agreement of Tagalog and Bisayan in the peculiar selection of words with only the final consonants *q* and *n* for treatment like words ending in vowel leaves no doubt that the construction and its marker aside from the presence of numerals has the same origin in these languages. In fact the difference between Tagalog *na* Bisayan  $\eta a$  can be explained as an analogical change in Tagalog after such assimilations to preceding apicals had affected the initial of the syllabic form as must be posited to explain the  $\eta^{\infty}n$  alternation in *dati* $\eta$  'come', *datnan* 'be reached'. On the other hand the agreement of Bisayan and Maranao in having cognate suppletive alternants of their markers before numerals (*ka*) must reflect a common origin of this distinctive treatment of numerals.

In general the term 'common origin' can be applied to features which originate in a common prior stage of two languages (i.e. in their proto-language) or were borrowed from one language to the other across a language boundary. However, in the case of the  $\eta a^{\infty}\eta$  alternation the chances that the  $\eta$  alternant was borrowed appear to be intuitively negligible, simply because an analogical change must be involved in accounting for the loss of the vowel. It follows that the development of the alternant must have occurred when Tagalog and Bisayan were the same language.

Similarly the chances that *ka* was borrowed must be regarded as very poor because it is a suppletive alternant. However if the distribution of *ka* remains restricted to Bisayan and Maranao, and evidence for the late unity in Tagalog and Bisayan increases, the necessity of interpreting *ka* as a borrowing may be unavoidable. The event should be regarded as improbable, but improbable events do occur.

To explain the agreements we can consider the following hypotheses:

1. In the Proto-Tagalog-Bisayan-Maranao period there was  $*\eta a \sim ka$ . Tagalog in common with Bisayan developed a new  $*\eta a \sim \eta$  alternation which Tagalog later extended by analogy to positions after a numeral, losing the alternant *ka*. On the other hand Maranao, after separating from the other two, replaced  $*\eta a$  by *a*. This hypothesis conforms to the Tagalog-Bisayan hypothesis (i.e. that there was a separation of Maranao first). The same effect would be obtained if it were assumed that there was originally only a single alternant  $*ka$  which was replaced after non-numerals by *a* in Maranao and by  $\eta a \sim \eta$  in Bisayan and everywhere by  $\eta a \sim \eta$  in Tagalog.

2. In Proto-Tagalog-Bisayan-Maranao there was only one alternant  $*\eta a$ . The  $\eta a \sim \eta$  alternation developed in the Tagalog-Bisayan area of Proto-Tagalog-Bisayan-Maranao and the *ka* alternant developed in the Bisayan-Maranao area of the same proto-language. This would account for everything, including the fact that the *ka* alternant with its restriction to numerals is, as far as I know at present, found only in Bisayan and Maranao. This interpretation would agree with a three-way split hypothesis.

3. In Proto-Tagalog-Bisayan-Maranao there was only the  $*\eta a \sim \eta$  alternation. After Tagalog had separated, the remaining unit consisting of the future Bisayan and Maranao replaced  $*\eta a \sim \eta$  after numerals by *ka*. This hypothesis conforms to the hypothesis of a Proto-Bisayan-Maranao.

4. In Proto-Tagalog-Bisayan-Maranao there were all three alternants  $*\eta a \sim \eta \sim ka$  as in Bisayan; thereafter in Tagalog  $*ka$  was replaced by  $*\eta a \sim \eta$  and in Maranao  $*\eta a \sim \eta$  was replaced by *a*. This hypothesis provides no subgrouping implication. It is compatible with a three-way split hypothesis.

In any case the examination of the conjunctive markers suggests that either Tagalog, Bisayan, and Maranao are coordinate or Tagalog and Bisayan are closer to each other, as against Maranao. It yields no evidence favoring a Tagalog-Maranao hypothesis.

### 3.0 THE NOMINATIVE CONSTITUENT

The nominative relation is unmarked in Tagalog and Bisayan. In Maranao it is marked by a particle with the alternants  $s \sim sek \sim se$  everywhere except with certain enclitic pronouns (here the zero-alternant). In Tagalog and Bisayan pro-

<sup>3</sup>The term determinative is here applied to those forms that are first members of a closed object expression. Determinative appear in Tagalog in any non-pronominal object expression that is a genitive constituent or a nominative constituent other than indefinite predicator.

nouns appear as nominative constituents alone, whereas other fullwords appear in the non-personal or the personal construction. In Maranao only pronouns appear in immediate construction with the nominative marker; other fullwords appear in immediate construction with a non-personal or personal marker.

a. The non-personal construction in Tagalog and Bisayan consists of a conjunctive construction in which the prior member is a determinative<sup>3</sup> connected by the conjunctive particle to the following member, a non-pronominal fullword; a common determinative is *qa*; thus Tagalog *q-aŋ ba.hay* 'house'. In Maranao the non-personal construction consists of the particle *o* (with the marker *s-*, *s-o*) + a fullword; e.g., *s-o ator* 'stone'.

Tag. *malaki qa.aŋ ba.hay*. 'The house is large.'

Hil., Cebu *dakuq qa-ŋ balay*. 'The house is large.'

Mar. *maitem s-o ator*. 'The stone is black.'

The agreement of Tagalog and Bisayan against Maranao in exhibiting a cognate determinative *qa* which never occurs independently of the following  $\eta$  plus fullword could be due to a common inheritance. However it would also agree with a Tagalog-Bisayan hypothesis if it were an innovation. Since the Philippine languages show a great variety of determinatives, presumably all demonstrative in origin, the chances that *qa* is of relatively recent date in its function are rather good. To this extent the agreement supports a Tagalog-Bisayan hypothesis.

b. The personal construction in Tagalog and Bisayan consists of the particle *si* and a non-pronominal fullword, usually a name: e.g. Tag. *si Pe.dro* 'Pedro'. In Maranao the personal construction consists of the particle *i* (with the marker *s = si*) + a non-pronominal fullword, usually a name: e.g. *si Paramisoli* 'Paramisolo'. The following exemplify personal constructions in nominative constituents:

Tag. *sumusu.lat si Pe.dro*. 'Pedro is writing'.

Hil. *mapi.san si Pedro*. 'Pedro is diligent'.

Cebu *miliŋkod si Igong*. 'Igong sat down'.

Mar. *komian si Paramisoli*. 'Paramisoli ate'.

c. (1). The following pronouns and sequences including pronouns are nominative constituents in non-enclitic position:

	Tag.	Hil., Cebu	Mar.
'I'	<i>qako</i>	<i>qako</i>	<i>saken</i>
'thou'	<i>qikaw</i>	<i>qikaw</i>	<i>seka</i>
he	<i>siya</i>	<i>siya</i>	<i>sekanian</i>
we (inc.)	<i>ta.yo</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>sektano</i>
we (exc.)	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>sekami</i>
ye	<i>kayo</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>sekano</i>
they	<i>silá</i>	<i>silá</i>	<i>siran</i>

The following exemplify one function of a nominative constituent in non-enclitic position, namely that of predicator:

- Tag. *qaku qa-η qasa.wa mo.* 'I am your husband.'  
 Hil. *qako qa-η ba.na mo.* 'I am your husband.'  
 Cebu *qako qa-η ba.na mo.* 'I am your husband.'  
 Mar. *saken s-o karoma ngka.* 'I am your husband.'

c. (2). The following pronouns are nominative constituents in enclitic position:

	Tag.	Hil.	Cebu	Maranao
'I'	<i>ako</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ako</i>
'thou'	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ngka<sup>∞</sup>ka</i>
he	<i>siya<sup>∞</sup>sya</i>	<i>siya</i>	<i>siya</i>	<i>sekanian</i>
we (inc.)	<i>ta.yo</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tano</i>
we (exc.)	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>kami</i>
ye	<i>kayo</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>kano</i>
they	<i>silá</i>	<i>silá</i>	<i>silá</i>	<i>siran</i>

Examples follow:

- Tag. *sumusu.lát ka.* 'You are writing.'  
 Hil. *nagsulat ka.* 'You wrote.'  
 Cebu *nagqunsa ka dinhi?* 'What are you doing here?'  
 Mar. *song ka si'i.* 'Come (you) here.'

A cursory examination of the table of forms and sentences concerning the nominative personal constructions and pronouns shows consistently agreements between Tagalog and Bisayan as against Maranao. There are no instances of agreements between Maranao with either one of the other two against the other. Therefore in each case of agreement we are forced to consider only whether or not it is due to common innovation or to common inheritance. If it is due to common inheritance from a Proto-Tagalog-Bisayan-Maranao, then the disagreeing Maranao form presumably exemplifies an innovation. On the other hand if the Tagalog-Bisayan agreement exemplifies a common innovation, the Maranao form might be a retention, if it did not itself exemplify a different innovation.

The appearance of *s<sup>∞</sup>se* in all of the Maranao pronouns is most likely an innovation. On the other hand most (if not all) of the common Tagalog-Bisayan differences concern forms which can be traced to Proto-Austronesian. The consequence is that the nominative pronouns do not offer evidence for a sub-grouping, since they are agreements which are due to common inheritance.

#### 4.0 THE GENITIVE CONSTITUENT

The genitive relation is marked in Tagalog and Bisayan mainly by a morph *n-* and is unmarked otherwise. It is unmarked everywhere in Maranao.

a. With a non-personal construction Tagalog has the morph *n-* (with *qa-η* = *n-a-η*) and Hiligaynon has the morph *s-* (with *qa-η* = *s-a-η*), whereas Cebu has the portmanteau *sa*. Maranao exhibits simply *o* + a fullword.

- Tag. *sinu.lat n-a-ŋ kaybi.gan ko.* 'It was written by my friend.'  
 Hil. *ginbu.hat s-a-ŋ panday.* 'It was made by the carpenter.'  
 Cebu *naputol sa ta.wo.* 'It was broken by the man.'  
 Mar. *begaken o mama.* 'It will be left by the man.'

b. With the personal construction, Tagalog, Hiligaynon, and Cebu exhibit *n-* (with *si* = *ni*), whereas Maranao exhibits simply the personal construction *i* + fullword:

- Tag. *napu.tol ni Pedro.* 'It was cut by Pedro.'  
 Hil. *ginbu.hat ni Pedro.* 'It was made by Pedro.'  
 Cebu *naputol ni Igong.* 'It was cut by Igong.'  
 Mar. *begaken i Paramisoli.* 'It will be left by Paramisoli.'

c. The genitive relation appears in the following pronouns:

Person	Tag.	Hil.	Cebu	Mar.
1 s.	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko, na.kon</i>	<i>ko, na.koq</i>	<i>aken, ko</i>
2 s.	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo, ni.mo</i>	<i>mo, ni.mo</i>	<i>ngka<sup>∞</sup>ka</i>
3 s.	<i>niya</i>	<i>ni.ya</i>	<i>ni.ya</i>	<i>nian<sup>∞</sup>ian</i>
1 p.i.	<i>na.min</i>	<i>ta, na.ton</i>	<i>ta, nat.oq</i>	<i>tano</i>
1 p.e.	<i>na.tin</i>	<i>na.mon</i>		<i>mi<sup>∞</sup>ami</i>
2 p.	<i>ninyo</i>	<i>ninyo</i>	<i>ninyo</i>	<i>nio<sup>∞</sup>io</i>
3 p.	<i>nila</i>	<i>ni.la</i>	<i>ni.la</i>	<i>ran<sup>∞</sup>iran</i>

Occurrence as agent is exemplified in the following:

- Tag. *napu.tol ko.* 'I cut it (lit. it was cut by me).'  
 Hil. *ginbu.hat ko; ginbu.hat na.kon.* 'I made it (lit. it was made by me).'  
 Ceb. *naputol ko; naputol na.koq.* 'I cut it (lit. it was cut by me).'  
 Mar. *begaken aken; begaken ko.* 'I will leave it (lit. it will be left by me).'

Occurrence as possessor is exemplified in the following:

- Tag. *ba.hay ko.* 'It is my house.'  
 Hil. *balay ko; balay na.kon.* 'It is my house.'  
 Ceb. *balay ko; balay na.koq.* 'It is my house.'  
 Mar. *karoma aken; karoma ko.* 'It is my house.'

There is no doubt that Tag. *na.tin*, Hil. *na.ton* 'of, by us (i)', have a common origin, reflecting a *\*na.ten* of some earlier stage. The same can be said for Tag. *na.min*, Hil. *na.mon* 'of, by us (e)' (reflecting a *\*na.men*) and Tag., Hil., and Cebu *ninyo* 'of, by you'.

The last set of cognates is most interesting because it appears to exhibit a common difference from Mar. *nio<sup>∞</sup>io*; nevertheless all four forms appear to contain a common element *\*niu* in such a way that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Tagalog and Bisayan forms have an added *n-i* which it would be difficult to dissociate historically from the *n-i* of *n-i Pe.dro*. Again here we

must choose between regarding the added *ni* a common innovation. This hypothesis is favored by the availability of a general hypothesis that all of the forms in Tagalog and Bisayan with *n-ni* initially are innovative and that the Maranao forms represent the original form. The functions of Tag., Bis. *ko* 'of, by me', *mo* 'of, by me', and Bis. *ta* 'of, by us (i.)' reflect the older state in which pronominal forms were not put into construction with *ni* for this function. On the other hand Hil. *na.kon*, Cebu *na.koq* 'of, by me' and Hil., Cebu *ni.mo* 'of, by thee' represent a carrying through of the new pattern into the first and second singular pronominal forms in which Tagalog did not share. In any case the innovative addition of  $n^{\infty}ni$  in the other forms points rather strongly toward a Tagalog-Bisayan hypothesis.

The difference of Hil. *na.kon*, Cebu *na.koq*, Hil. *na.ton*, Cebu *na.toq*, and Hil. *na.mon*, Cebu *na.moq* is the same and suggests that the same change is involved. The agreement of Hiligaynon and Tagalog in having final *n* in these forms certifies that the Cebu forms are replacements of ones that had *n*. Since both final *n* and final *q* are involved in the alternations of words before the conjunctive particle  $\eta a$  (see above), the hypothesis suggests itself that the Cebu forms might be the result of so-called "false" analogy; since a word with final *n* would have an alternant indistinguishable from that of a word with final *q* before the non-syllabic alternant of  $\eta a^{\infty}\eta$  (see above), the speakers of Cebu developed forms with final *q* on the model of other words that had inherited final *q*, but whose alternant before  $\eta$  ended in vowel.

The fact is however that Cebu *na.koq* and the others do not occur as frequently before  $\eta a^{\infty}\eta$  as certain other very similar forms.

## 5.0 THE LOCATIVE CONSTITUENT

The locative relation is marked in all the languages. In Tagalog and Bisayan the locative particle in its various forms is in immediate construction with a fullword or a personal construction. In Maranao the locative particle has different alternants: (1) *k-* appears in immediate construction only with the non-personal construction, the personal construction, whereas (2)  $re^{\infty}rek^{\infty}r^{\infty}\phi$  (See above) appears with pronouns. For the sake of convenience the Tagalog-Bisayan locative construction of particle immediately with a non-pronominal fullword is treated together with the Maranao construction of particle with the non-personal construction.

a. In Tagalog and Bisayan the locative relation with a non-pronominal fullword is marked by the particle *sa* (in the case of Cebu thus being undistinguished from the particle marking the genitive relation). In Maranao the particle is *k* in immediate construction with non-personal construction ( $k + o = ko$ ):

- Tag. *sinu.lat nya sa ba.hay.* 'He wrote it in the house.'  
 Hil. *nagsulat siya sa balay.* 'He wrote in the house.'  
 Ceb. *gibasa ni.ya sa balay.* 'He read it in the house.'  
 Mar. *somiong siran ko oalai.* 'They went to the house.'



b. With the personal construction the particles are *ka-y* (= *ka* + *si*) in Tagalog, *sa ka-y* (= *sa ka* + *si*) in Hiligaynon, *kan* (= *kan* + *si*) in Cebu, and *k* in Maranao (with *i* = *ki*):

- Tag. *qibigay mo kay Huan.* 'Give it to Juan.'  
 Hil. *qipadala qini sa kay Pedro.* 'Sent this to Peter.'  
 Ceb. *giha.tag nya kaη Ne.na.* 'He gave it to Nena.'  
 Mar. *tero'on aken ki Manoel.* 'I will tell it to Manuel.'

c. With pronouns the locative particle is *sa* in Tagalog and Hiligaynon, *kan* in Cebu, and *re<sup>∞</sup>rek<sup>∞</sup>r<sup>∞</sup>φ* on Maranao. Since the forms of the pronouns which appear in this construction are different from those in other constructions, we will quote the pronoun as well and refer to it hereafter as the oblique form:

Tag.	Hil.	Cebu	Mar.
<i>sa qa.kin</i>	<i>sa qa.kon</i>	<i>kana.kuq</i>	<i>rekaken, raken</i>
<i>sa qiyo</i>	<i>sa qi.mo</i>	<i>kani.mu</i>	<i>rekeka, reka</i>
<i>sa kaniya</i>	<i>sa qi.ya</i>	<i>kani.ya</i>	<i>rekanian</i>
<i>sa qa.tin</i>	<i>sa qa.ton</i>	<i>kana.tuq</i>	<i>rektano</i>
<i>sa qa.min</i>	<i>sa qa.mon</i>	<i>kana.muq</i>	<i>rekami</i>
<i>sa qinyo</i>	<i>sa qi.nyo</i>	<i>kaninyu</i>	<i>rekano</i>
<i>sa kanila</i>	<i>sa qi.la</i>	<i>kani.la</i>	<i>kiran</i>

- Tag. *qibigay so sa kaniya.* 'Give it to him.'  
 Hil. *qipadala qini sa qi.ya.* 'Send it to him.'  
 Ceb. *gihatag nya kana.koq.* 'He gave it to me.'  
 Mar. *tero'on aken reka.* 'I will tell it to you.'

## 6.0 THE OBLIQUE PRONOUNS

The oblique forms of the pronoun resemble that of the genitive form once the *ni-n* is extracted from the latter except for the absence of Tag., Hil. *ko, mo*, in Cebu, and *re<sup>∞</sup>rek<sup>∞</sup>r<sup>∞</sup>φ* in Maranao. Since the forms of the pronouns which *qiyo*, the first of which is cognate with Hil. *qa.kon* from an earlier *\*qa.ken*.

These oblique forms have four functions like other fullwords, but there is at least one difference in meaning according to function. The functions are: (1) predicator, (2) prior member of a conjunctive construction, (3) fullword in an object construction (following Bloomfield).

The following are instances in the function of predicator. The meaning is 'possessor':

- Tag. *qa.kin qa η ba.hay.* 'The house is mine.'  
 Hil. *qa.kon qa η balay.* 'The house is mine.'  
 Cebu *qa.kuq qa η balay.* 'The house is mine.'

The following are instances in the function of prior member of a conjunctive construction. The meaning is likewise 'possessor':

- Tag. *qa.ki η ba.hay qito.* 'This is my house.'

Hil. *qa.ko η balay qini.* 'This is my house.'

Ceb. *qa.ku η balay kini.* 'This is my house.'

Such constructions are everywhere freely replaceable by a construction with a following genitive: e.g. Tag. *ha.hay ko*, Hil. *balay ko*, Cebu *balay ku* 'my house'.

In the function of object in an object construction the meaning is 'possessor' if the object particle is nominative or genitive:

Tag. *qitu qa η qa.kin.* 'This is mine.'

Hil. *qini qa η qa.kon.* 'This is mine.'

Ceb. *kini qa η qa.kuq.* 'This is mine.'

However if the object particle is the locative particle, the usual meaning is 'pronominal' (i.e. not "possessor"); here the oblique form is simply an alternant of the pronominal forms functioning as nominatives. This function of the oblique forms has already been illustrated (see above).

It is possible to construct a hypothesis that will account for all these forms. Tag. *kanya* 'his, him', *kanila*, 'them, their' strongly resemble Cebu *kani.ya kani.la*. The Tagalog forms taken together with the Cebu forms suggest a common period in which the common language had a particle *\*kan* functioning much like the *kan-* of Cebu. [Of course it would be possible to analyze a sequence like *\*kaniya* as being *\*ka + niya*, but the difference is not material to the hypothesis.] In part of the territory of a Proto-Tagalog Bisayan there developed a competition between *\*kan-* and a particle *\*sa* in this function. In one area (the source of Cebu) this competition is not reflected. In another area (the source of Hiligaynon) *\*sa* emerged victorious. In a third area *\*sa* likewise emerged victorious, but only after the earlier *\*kan* had become attached to the third person forms.

It is difficult to contemplate the collection of the oblique forms of the pronouns in Tagalog and Bisayan without regarding them as part of an interconnected development. Maranao shows no forms that are as closely related to the Tagalog and Bisayan forms as they are to each other. Furthermore I have not yet seen in the literature relating to Maranao an example of, or a reference to the use of oblique pronouns as preceding attributes in the meaning "possessor".

We can now safely conclude that Tagalog and Bisayan give evidence of a closer interrelationship as against Maranao in their respective nominative object constructions and in their genitive and oblique pronouns. The functions of the oblique pronominal forms are particularly important, for though they are constructed out of inherited materials, their function as preceding attribute is, as far as I know, restricted to the Philippines and either to only Tagalog and Bisayan as against Maranao or to those two and others against Maranao. [There are however other languages like Pampangan and Ibanag that have similar constructions, but use forms of different origins; these are perhaps to be explained as due to Tagalog influence.]

Furthermore evidence of the direction of change has appeared because the restriction in the distribution of this construction is in general so great that a hypothesis that would place it in Proto-Tagalog-Maranao (under a hypothesis of loss in Maranao) cannot be given much credence.

The hypothesis of a Tagalog-Bisayan unity (with perhaps others) that excluded Maranao agrees with the lexicostatistical evidence. Under this hypothesis the construction of numerals with the particle *ka* that is common to Maranao and Bisayan must be assigned to a period prior to the Tagalog-Bisayan unity that excluded Maranao or, as a very weak alternative, to secondary contact between Bisayan and Maranao, i.e. to borrowing.

#### REFERENCE

- MCKAUGHAN, H. 1962. Overt Relation Markers in Maranao. *Language* 38.47-51.